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Gemahlt, geschnitzt, mit einem Schimmer  
 Von Gold ums Haupt; ihn musz sie sehn<sup>16</sup>  
 Wohin sich ihre Blicke lenken<sup>17</sup>  
 Und mit ihm auf und nieder gehn. . . .  
 Eh konnte sie sich selbst verlieren<sup>18</sup>  
 Als dem geliebten Bild entfliehn. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Ein paar Seiten weiter (S. 204) heiszt es nun:

Da sitzt bey mattem Lampenschein  
 Das arme Kind in seiner Zelle,  
 Blasz, wie bey düster Mondeshelle  
 Ein Geist auf einem Leichenstein. . . .

Doch nun genug.

Ich weisz nicht, ob die Entstehungszeit von Mignons Lied einigermassen feststeht: Wenn nicht, so werden wir sie zusammen mit derjenigen des Blutlieds etwa in den Anfang Februar 1783 setzen. Auch das Lied "Der Schäfer putzte sich zum Tanz" wird um dieselbe Zeit entstanden und tatsächlich nur der Ökonomie halber—es geht unmittelbar vorher die Ballade "Der Sänger"—nicht aufgenom-

Gedicht "Die Feier des achtundzwanzigsten Augusts dankbar zu erwidern" Reminiszenzen aus beiden älteren Gedichten. Es beginnt "Sah gemahlt, in Gold und Rahmen. . . ." zu V. 13 ff vgl. Gleim, 105 ff., 131 ff., und Wieland T.M. April 1775, 8, 1 ff., 12, 2 ff., 13, 1 ff., 14, 10 ff., zu V. 17, 18, 21, ff.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. *Urfaust*, 1082 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Petrarke's Sonett, *Ove ch' i' posi gli occhi lassì ogiri*.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. *Urfaust*, 1105 und dazu wieder Anmerkung 14 oben. Minor bemerkt I, 173: "Sie möchte ihn in Armen halten und an seinen Küssen ersticken. Das will natürlich der Schlussvers sagen, nicht: 'auf die Gefahr hin zu vergehen.' Sagt doch Gretchen später noch zu Faust (die Worte *Urfaust*, Kerker, 45 ff.)." Worauf sich das "natürlich" gründet, weisz ich nicht, und ebensowenig, wie mit dem Zitat aus Kerker 45 ff. etwas bewiesen werden kann; an letzterer Stelle steht: "als wolltest du mich ersticken," an ersterer "vergehen sollt." Der Sinn ist "und sollte ich an seinen Küssen vergehen." Offenbar ist die Konstruktion derjenigen in der 20. Strophe von Gleims Marianne nachgebildet, die man sich auch erst zurechtzulegen hat: "Weil von den Rosen seiner Wangen ein langer Bart herabhang, und, wie sie vergangen, gesehen ward." Wie hier das Subjekt *es* zu ergänzen ist, so dort *ihn*. Vgl. Gleim v. 13 ff., mit *Urfaust*, 799, *Faust*, 3726 f.; Gleim 113 ff. mit *Urfaust* 1066 ff., und wieder Gleim 133 ff.; Gleim 193 ff. mit *Urfaust* 1281 ff., 1290. 1297.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. oben zu Anm. 14.

men sein. Wie es in die Erzählung eingeführt wird, das ähnelt ja auch durchaus den entsprechenden Versen bei Voss.

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## CONCERNING THE TYPE *BEAU-PÈRE*, *BELLE-MÈRE*

Short accounts have hitherto been given of the introduction into modern French of the actual words of step- and law-relationship.<sup>1</sup> The substitution of *beau-père* for *suire* and *parastre*, of *beau-frère* for *frerastre* and *serorge*, etc., has been in the main correctly, if succinctly, explained. A word is due, however, regarding the dates assigned to these words in their actual acception. The *Dictionnaire Général*, which makes some attempt to cite the earliest attested use of its words, assigns the following dates as the earliest obtainable; the discrepancy in time will be noticed at once: *beau-père* (1549); *belle-mère* (1454); *beau-frère* (1549); *belle-sœur* (XVe S.); *beau-fils* (1611); *belle-fille* (1611). These dates are subject to correction. Even from a cursory glance at some of the prominent literary monuments, one will note in a single work examples, earlier than 1549, of most of these words.<sup>2</sup>

The use of these words as a class is of much earlier date, and there is no such disparity between the dates of their appearance as the citations of the *Dict. Gén.* would indicate. The earliest date may be approximately determined in three ways. A rather recent dissertation, as it incidentally touches our subject, attacks the problem from the side of "direct address" alone.<sup>3</sup> The results of this

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *Formation des mots composés*; Tapolet, *Verwandschaftsnamen*; Du Cange, *Gloss.*, et al.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Le Maire, *Illust. de Gaule* (circ. 1510), ed. Stecher: *beau père*, I, 341; *beau frère*, 81; *belle mère*, 192; *belle sœur*, 310.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. Stowell, *Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, Baltimore, 1909.

method would be of doubtful value in ascertaining the dates of our words: the moment when *beau-père*, etc., first possessed in *direct discourse* the connotation of relationship can never be determined.

It is undoubtedly true that words of step-kinship ending in the suffix *-aster* had, in the Middle Ages, a distinctly pejorative meaning. From words in *-aster* the depreciative connotation spread to the other words of legal relationship. This pejoration has been ascribed to some inherent quality of the suffix, which would be traced back as far as the Latin of Plautus.<sup>4</sup> The suffix *-aster*, meaning 'incomplete resemblance to, inferior to,' then 'bad, cruel,' would have affected the meaning of the word-stem. Whether this pejorative meaning came from an original quality of the suffix, or was transferred to it from association with words of kinship that were in bad repute, one cannot venture to state categorically. The latter view seems to be in closer keeping with what we know of the Latin suffix and with semasiological processes.

It seems certain to us, however, that in the subsequent treatment of *-aster*, especially in the words under discussion, the suffix had a depreciative sense that increased with age. The words of law-relationship for the most part (save *gendre* and *bru*), fell into disrepute together with the words of step-kinship, probably by association with them—*asinus asinum fricat*.

Such pejorative sense in words of ordinary use naturally became intolerable. Other words took their place, growing out of a custom of courteous address. Prof. Stowell has shown, by many well-chosen examples, that *beau-père*, etc., in their actual acceptance, are derived from an extremely common form of polite salutation.<sup>5</sup> We suggest that *beau*, *belle*, prefixing the words of immediate family relationship, titles, etc., in the stereotyped medieval

formulas, approximated our ancient *good my lord, fair sister*, etc.

A sufficiently illuminating, if uncited, commentary on this use of *beau* in trite formulas of respect, is found in the following passage from Chrétien de Troyes.<sup>6</sup> The *jeu de mots* in the last two verses indicates a satiric appreciation of the painful triteness of the word *beau* in titles of polite address.

Par quel non je t'apelerei?—  
Sire, fait il, jel vos dirai:  
J'ai nom *biau fils*.—*Beau fils* as ores?  
Je cuit bien que tu as ancores  
Un autre non.—Sire, par foi  
J'ai nom *biau frere*.—Bien t'an croi;  
Mais se tu me vials dire voir,  
Ton droit non voldrai ge savoir.—  
Sire, fet il, bien vos puis dire  
Qu'a mon droit non ai nom *biau sire*.—  
Si m'aïst dex ci a *biau* non.  
As an tu plus?

As the O.Fr. words of quasi-kinship gained in depreciative force, the modern terms began to usurp their place, gradually, and not as the sudden or conscious act of the grammarians. By a transference of meaning, the adjective denoting courtesy in direct address assumed an overt function in compound words of relationship, the use being later definitely fixed, by hyphenation, as a usage.

It is impossible to say just what was the psychological process involved. In the short notices hitherto given, two theories have been suggested, if not proposed, by the terms of the explanation. Burguy, when discussing the O.Fr. words, offered the following explanation: "Les mots avec cette terminaison *-astre* . . . qui, dans le principe, ne désignaient que la parenté, l'alliance, prirent peu à peu une signification péjorative, et par opposition à la *méchante* marâtre, on donna hypocoristiquement à la *bonne* marâtre, le nom de belle-mère, c-à-d. dans le sens primitif de *bellus*, cher, chère mère, et ainsi des autres."<sup>7</sup>

This explanation would propose either an unconscious reversion of a word to a primitive

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Seck, "Das Roman, Suffix *-aster*, *-astrum*," *ALL.*, I, 39; F. F. Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, N. Y., 1895. Bréal unhesitatingly assigns to the suffix a pejorative sense "qui se montre déjà en latin." (*Sémantique*, p. 43.)

<sup>5</sup> Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 147 seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Contes del Graal. Abdruck d. Handschrift Paris, franc. 794, vv. 343 seq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Gramm.*, III, 243.

meaning, or absurdly enough in the case of *beau*, a popular recognition of some such etymology as *beau* < *bellum* < *ben-lum* < *bon-(um)lum*.

Littre (*Dict.*) does not rely upon any inherent meaning of *beau* to explain how it came to be accepted in connection with words of family: ". . . la langue s'est sentie inclinée à chercher une périphrase, et elle l'a trouvée dans l'usage ancien qui faisait de *beau* un terme d'affection, surtout entre parents."

Disregarding the phrase "la langue s'est sentie inclinée à chercher," a manner of speaking that Bréal would class with such "illusions" as "tendances des mots" and "autres tendances non moins imaginaires,"<sup>8</sup> we believe the explanation to approximate the truth.

In spite of the stereotyped use of the epithet *beau* in the later Middle Ages, its note of affection is very often evident, in the sense of 'dear.' This sentiment is felt in the affectionate warnings of Saint Louis to his son: "Biau filz, biau filz."<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, very often associated with the iterative epithet *cher*, it would assimilate some of the quality of the latter adjective: "bels sire chiers" (*Rol.* v. 1693), "biaus amis chiers" (*Fab.*, Mont. et Ray., V, 107).

The use of *beau-père*, etc., antedates the citations of the *Dict. Gén.* and our own earlier ones of Jean Le Maire. The O.Fr. words of both step- and law-kinship were in force in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while *beau*, *belle* still continued in titles of respect in direct address. A rigorous search of many documents and literary monuments of the last quarter of the fourteenth century fails to reveal the use of *beau-père*, etc., in their actual meaning. In our search we have dealt not only with direct address, but also with works where the narrative *third person* is most used. In indirect speech only would the use of *beau-père*—in the proper context—be indubitable proof of its meaning "step-father, father-in-law."

In the dissertation referred to above, we

find the following: "Furthermore, since *bele suer*, *beaus fils*, and *belle fille* were employed during this period to designate a relationship by marriage. . . ." A footnote gives the following citations: "Entendés ça, soer bele. *Fabliaux*, II, 227 (noble lady to sister-in-law) —Thiebaut, biaux fils, qui longue voie va. *O. F. N.*, p. 162 (noble to son-in-law)."<sup>10</sup>

From the very fact that the author has elsewhere shown (p. 147 seq.) that *beau*, *belle*, were used almost indiscriminately with words of immediate family relationship, in honorific titles of address, there is surely no psychological process that can differentiate the citations here given from other contemporary titles of courtesy, in which *beau*, *belle*, are epithetic, especially when no speech of the third person confirms such use for the period (to 1350). Even had "*Les Honneurs de la Cour*, of a date slightly later than the period treated," designated *beau* as a word to be used in *composés* of relationship, we see no relevancy to the period treated. The citations, besides being in direct address, are from the aristocratic language of chivalry, which, as Bréal shows, is conservative, slow to adopt neologisms.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the citation from the *Honn. d. l. Cour*, cited by Sainte-Palaye from ms., contains no such command. The sentence "Quant les roys et roynes, ducqs, duchesses, princesses, ont des parents, les doivent appeler beaux" merely designates the *formula of respect* which the author has elsewhere made plain: *parents* may signify "cousin, aunt, uncle," as well as "mother, father, brother."

Froissart and his contemporaries of the last years of the fourteenth century cling to the O.Fr. forms. *Beau* is still used in titles of respect between relatives, friends, and nobles, while the O.Fr. *serourge*, for example, designates the brother-in-law in every case where he has occasion to use the word—in sum, sixteen times in the first three volumes.<sup>12</sup>

It suffices to cite only two other examples

<sup>10</sup> Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>11</sup> Bréal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Chroniques*, p. p. Siméon Luce, Paris, 1874. *Biaux oncles* II, 127; *biaux nies* II, 16; *biau frere* II, 234 (to own brother); *biau seigneur* V, 33; etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Essai de Sémantique*, 4e éd., p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> Joinville. ed. Fr. Michel, p. 236.

from the scores we have assembled for this period. The *Chronique de J. de Stavelot* (p. 529) also makes use of the O.Fr. *soir* (*socerus*, father-in-law): "son soir, pere de sa femme." As late as 1417 we find the same word in legal use: "Le suppliant gendre de Pierre Fontan dist et depose pour et a l'intention dudit Pierre Fontan son seigneur ou sogre."<sup>13</sup> The O.Fr. words of step-relationship alone are used at this date. We cite but a single case from popular record: "De la filatre saint Blaise une cote fourree d'escureux."<sup>14</sup>

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, a certain hesitation is becoming evident in the use of these words. The usual doubt with respect to neologisms is apparent, and many authors adopted paraphrases to avoid the difficulty.<sup>15</sup>

In the first quarter of the century, the Mod. Fr. words of relationship compounded with *beau*, *belle*, are recorded, still hesitatingly, as is shown by the frequent use of the O.Fr. forms. The earliest cases we have been able to find are from the *Chroniques* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.<sup>16</sup> Illustrating in one and the same work the use of both O.Fr. and Mod. Fr. forms, are the following citations: p. 125, "ou il eut aucun parlement avec le duc Guillaume son *serourge* . . . lequel *serourge* retourna en la ville d'Arras."—p. 127, "et tantost apres ladicte festes accomplies, la duchesse de Hollande, avec son *beau-frere* . . ."—p. 170, "et adonques ladicte duchesse Jehan son filz et la royne d'Angleterre, sa *belle-fille* . . ." <sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> J. J., 170, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> *Inv. du Juif Joseph*, ann. 1394.

<sup>15</sup> Eust. Deschamps, *Œuv. compl. (SATF.)*, IX, p. 183: "monseigneur Descalles, frère de la femme dudit Edouard." This circumlocution occurs several times in the same volume: pp. 104, 114, 123, 190.—Boucicaut, *Le livre des faits*, II, 217: "et aussi Mauvinet leur frère de mère."—Commynes, *Mém.*, p. 230, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Douët-D'Areq, v. I, *Soc. de l'Hist. de Fr.*, Paris, 1857. The composition of the *Chroniques* stretched over the third and fourth decades of the century.

<sup>17</sup> In the same work are other examples of the modern forms, the relationship being historically authenticated: *belle-fille*, p. 168; *beau-filz*, pp. 172, 176; *beau-frere*, pp. 259, 350, 352, 353. The O. Fr. form *serourge* again occurs on page 353, in place of *beau-frere*.

The history of these words of relationship in France shows clearly enough at what period they were accepted into good currency, sufficiently to put themselves indubitably in the written records of the language. Two means still remain to check up the results obtained,—the records of the passage of these Mod. Fr. words of quasi-relationship into the Celtic and the Dutch.

It has been said in a passing notice of the matter, that these words of legal relationship were borrowed from the Celtic.<sup>18</sup> The opposite is true; the Breton and Welsh translated these words from the French. The borrowing has been mentioned briefly by Tappolet.<sup>19</sup>

Among the modern Welsh words of step-relationship are compounds of the words of immediate family relationship with the adjective *gwyn* (m.), *wen* (f.), fair, beautiful: *tad-gwyn*, step-father, *mam-wen*, step-mother, etc.<sup>20</sup> The Breton has the same relationship expressed in *tâd-kaer*, *mamm-kaer*, *c'hoar-gaer*, *merc'h-kaer*, etc., in which *kaer* is an adjective with the meaning *beautiful*. With the material at my disposal I have been unable to find any citation of these modern Welsh or Breton forms before the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Up to that date the usual ancient forms, *mamec*, *tadec*, *mabec*, etc., persist. Ernault, to be sure, places *mamm-gaer*, etc., in the "moyen-breton," but without further date or citation. The Breton terms would indicate, according to him, both law- and step-relationship.<sup>22</sup> As he dates his period from the year 1100, the inclusion of our words is of no aid in fixing their date definitely. Unknown to Ernault was the dictionary of Lagadeuc, the oldest extant Breton glossary, written in 1464.<sup>23</sup> In this work no mention

<sup>18</sup> F. G. Mohl, *Les Origines Romanes*, Prague, 1900.

<sup>19</sup> *Romanische Verwandtschaftsnamen*. Strassab., 1895. Tappolet, without question, accepts the dates of the *Diet. Gén.* (p. 125).

<sup>20</sup> Spurrell's *Engl.-Welsh Diet.*, 1905; Pughe's *Welsh Diet.*, 1832; et al.

<sup>21</sup> I have had access to the libraries of Cornell, Chicago, and Columbia.

<sup>22</sup> E. Ernault, *Glossaire Moyen-Breton*, Paris, 1895.

<sup>23</sup> *Le Catholicon de Jehan Lagadeuc* . . . imprimé à Tréguier chez Jehan Calvez en MCCCXCIX.

is made of the forms *tâd-kaer*, etc., while all the older forms are given, *lesman*, *lesmap*, etc.

On the side of the Netherlands we have data more positive in character. The Dutch also expresses the legal relationship by *mots composés*, translated from the French: *schoonvader*, *schoon-moeder*, *schoon-zoon*, *schoon-dochter*, *schoon-broeder*, *schoon-suster*.<sup>24</sup>

After a search of all the available material, my own results had convinced me that up to the middle of the fifteenth century the Old Dutch forms alone were used—or at least appear—in Dutch literature and records. Shortly after that date the forms compounded with *schoon* make their appearance. These results were confirmed by the learned Dutch scholar, Prof. J. Verdam of Leyden, to whose kindness I owe the following citations, the earliest known:

Onser harde liever vrouwe ende schonemoeder, *Priv. v. Brielle*, 2, 79 (a. 1477); Gelijke wedden als plachten te hebben ende te nemen bylevenden tijden ons voorsz. wylen heere ende schoonvadere de raedsluyden, *Handv. en Priv. v. Holl.* II, 27 (a. 1477); Sijn scoonsuster . . . soogde Alexander, *Alex. V*, 135.

Prof. Verdam further writes me that his search has convinced him that "les termes sont entrés en Néer. vers le milieu du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle, et vraisemblablement en imitant les termes français avec *beau*."<sup>25</sup>

The Celtic and Dutch translations of the French terms, about the middle of the fifteenth century, alone would fix their usage in France to a period antedating the earliest foreign citations. The period in which French historical and literary records—in speech of the

third person—show a hesitancy in using the new forms, together with the earliest attested use of these words, would seem to place their acceptance into idiomatic currency at about the year 1400. Doubtless there was, in popular speech, considerable use of these words, before they found their hesitating way into writing, but at this we can only guess; the written records alone can concern us.

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### THE MODEL OF THE LEATHER-STOCKING TALES

Several years ago the present writer, re-reading the Leather Stocking Tales, prepared two tables to show the interrelations between them in plot and in characters, and was much surprised to observe that all five tales are practically the same, when stripped to bare outlines. At the same time the tables seemed so simple, so obvious, that no further attention was paid to them, until the writer was twice assured in chance conversation that the facts were unknown, or at least not generally known. A careful examination of most of the current Cooper criticism proves this to be correct. The observations upon Cooper, when not dealing with sources, have turned mostly to matters of atmosphere and character drawing in general, —to "Americanism," "the pioneer spirit," and the like. In technique certain resemblances to Walter Scott are observed; but beyond that nothing.

In the five tales, taken as a whole, the principal characters number twelve, though in every novel one or more of these—in two novels as many as three—are missing. Leather Stocking, or Bumpo, appears under his own name in all five; the Indian Chingachgook in four, being replaced in the other, *The Prairie*, by a western Indian, Hard Heart. The other personages change their names, but not their characters. First, there is the father or guardian of the heroine, a somewhat commonplace type, though touched, in the cases of Ishmael

<sup>24</sup> The borrowing has been universally recognized by the Dutch scholars: *Den Nieuwen Dictionaris ofr Schadt der Duytse en Spanesche Talen*, Antwerp, 1659; J. Frank, *Etymolog. Woordenb.*, "navolging van fr. beau." See also, Saalverda De Grave, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der uit het fransch overgenomen woorden in het nederlandsch*.

<sup>25</sup> It is rather remarkable that for German *schön* Grimm sees an etymon analogous to that discussed for *beau*, in a primitive meaning *good*: "näher scheint lit. *szaunus* 'trefflich, gut,' zu stehen." (*Wörterb.*)